

BEVERLY TUCKER,

EDITOR AND PROPRIETOR.

TUESDAY MORNING, AUG. 19, 1856.

DEMOCRATIC NOMINATIONS.

FOR PRESIDENT.

JAMES BUCHANAN,
OF PENNSYLVANIA.

FOR VICE PRESIDENT.

JOHN C. BRECKINRIDGE,
OF KENTUCKY.

EXTRA SESSION OF CONGRESS.

It is stated, and with little or no doubt of its truth, that the President of the United States has issued his proclamation for an extra session of Congress, to convene on Thursday next, made necessary by the defeat of the army bill.

PATRIOTS TO THE RESCUE.

We give to-day the able and patriotic letters of George T. Curtis, esq., and of the Hon. Rufus Choate. These eminent men, lovers of that Union which Liberty must remain inseparable or perish, have felt themselves irresistibly impelled to denounce and oppose the Black Republican party as one threatening the most imminent danger to the Union, and untold and most fearful calamities to every portion of this great confederacy.

It is a remarkable fact, that without a single exception, every man in the nation, with a national reputation for personal and political integrity, oppose and unqualifiedly denounce the Black Republican party, as being selfish, and tending inevitably to the most unhappy disorders, strifes, disasters, and that felicitous of all evils, disunion—for in that one word, applied to this confederacy, lie concealed more and more fearful evils to humanity, than has the pen of history ever recorded.

Evils so potent and so imminent threatening, have caused patriot voices from every quarter of the Union to be raised in one harmonious strain of caution and exhortation to the people to shun the dangerous alliance with the Black Republicans, and to cause themselves to forget all minor matters in this great issue involving the peace and perpetuity of the Union.

Patriots of every party, have but one alternative, to join in the Republican crusade which threatens the existence of the Union, or to range themselves in line with the Democratic party to resist this paralytic effort of the conglomerate ists of the day.

On the side of the Republican party, are ranged all the infidels of the land, who clamor for a new Constitution, a new Bible, a new God—the leaders of abolition, anti-renters, anti-masons—Giddings and Webb, Seward and Wendell Phillips, Anson Burlingame and Theodore Parker; Greeley, Raymond and the writers of the *Evening Post*, Chase, Wade and Wilson.

Let the people of the United States look upon that bright galaxy of eminent patriots and statesmen who stand arrayed under the banner of the Constitution. Buchanan and Breckinridge, Choate, Everett, Curtis, Winthrop, Dickinson, Pearce, Pratt, Johnson, Clayton, Badger, Benjamin, Jones, Bell, Dixon, Cass, Toombs, Douglas, Stephens, Rives, in fact to enumerate all, would be to make a catalogue of all the patriots and eminent men of the country. Some of these are in favor of Mr. Fillmore, having confidence in his discretion, and his declarations denouncing the motives and tendency of Republicanism. There can be no manner of doubt, that as between Fremont and Buchanan, Mr. Fillmore would turn with scorn and horror from the former, and rely with assurance on the safety of the Union under Mr. Buchanan. We hesitate not to affirm, that all affiliations of his party or fusions with the Republican party, are eminently distasteful to Mr. Fillmore, and if those who profess a preference for him and confidence in his wisdom and patriotism, would be guided by the opinions or wishes of Mr. Fillmore, they would spit upon all the overtures of the Republican party. Let his supporters bear this well in mind, that the Republican leaders entertain personally towards Mr. Fillmore the most implacable hatred, and their seduction of his friends under the guise of fusion and affiliation, is intended as much to inflict upon him the pangs of mortification and of gratifying their vindictive hate upon him, as to swell their own ranks, all therefore, who fuse with, ally themselves to, or join the Republican party, are doing that which is most ungracious and most distasteful to Mr. Fillmore.

The issue which the Republicans themselves have made and flout on every breeze, is—to prefer dissolution, to allowing the people of Kansas to form a constitution for themselves, and come into the confederacy with it. The Republicans insist, unconditionally, that Kansas shall come into the Union a Free-State or a dissolution of the Union. The Democratic party and all the opponents of the Republican party desire Kansas to come into the Union, just as she herself presents, restricted only by the Constitutional provision, requiring a Republican form of Government.

Which are the safest counsellors, that numberless phalanx of statesmen and patriots who view with distrust and abhorrence the bald and bold attempt of less than one-third of the people of the Union to seize the helm of State and hurry the ship upon the rock of disunion, or that piebald medley of fanatics, roaring infidels, chattering politicians, avowed Constitution and Union haters, Reverends who substitute rifles for Bibles, and who, instead of charity, pour streams of slander from lecherous tongues—men who proclaim "Washington a scoundrel," the Constitution "a compact with hell"—who openly advocate forcible resistance to the laws of Congress—who recommend to the slaves to abscond from their masters, stealing all the property they can, and murdering all who oppose their flight.

The fact stands patent to the day, undeniable, that all these classes of moral and political lepers have ranged themselves under the banner

ner of the Republicans, as a means of carrying out their detestable purposes.

Nor is this strange, when a high priest of the party holds out invitations to converts and recruits to join them, "even though it be from the basest motives."

Thus this Republican party seeks to swell its ranks to a plurality in the northern States, by allying to itself all the "basest" men of the country.

This invitation to join the Republican ranks from the "basest motives" can influence only those who expect to promote their "basest motives" by the power of the Republican party; and if the invitation to join it from the "basest motives" does not mean that these "basest motives" are to be gratified by the enlistment under the Republican banner, it means nothing, for that could be the only reason for men of "basest motives" to join the Republican party.

Contrast this with the high-toned appeals of a lofty patriotism, which summons all honest men from the purest motives to the support and defence of the Constitution and the Union, against the assaults of this grand combination of "meanest motives," rallying under a torn flag of the Union, under half a flag. Hitherto our glory has been to add star after star to embazon our firmament and to light up to the world the path and growth of freedom, but this conglomerate of "meanest motives" find pride in striking from the firmament of liberty one-half the stars with which the honored fathers of these degenerate children of "meanest motives" had so proudly and joyously spangled the firmament of our Union.

The staple of the Republican canvass is in low appeals to every baser passion and prejudice. No man can imbibe the emanations from the Republican fountains and feel a warmer glow of charity, of brotherly kindness, of regard for law, order, and the Constitution, or can feel improved his sense of honesty in maintaining in good faith the compact and obligations of truth and justice, of the compacts made by our fathers, the great benefits of which we all enjoy. No one can read their appeals without feeling every prejudice more deeply tinged with bitterness, and his sense of right dangerously blunted.

All these consequences and results are in full view of all those patriots who are sounding the tocsin of alarm along the length and breadth of our country against the designs of the Republicans.

This party, conscious of its aims and motives, has fully selected a candidate, under whose lead all men, actuated by the "meanest motives," might appropriately array themselves in a warfare upon the peace and treasure of the Union.

While there are some who, under unhappy delusions, have arranged themselves with these mischief-makers in the belief that somehow or other it will tend to abolish slavery, which they honestly believe to be both wrong and injurious, yet they will find that the purposes of the leaders of this party are as corrupt and dangerous as are their professions insincere and false. We hope the eyes of all such will be opened before it be too late.

CONSISTENCY IS A JEWEL.

Millard Fillmore has returned from his European tour with heart overflowing towards his countrymen of all parties, and of all sections. Unconcerned by his acquaintance with courts, he returns with but one feeling, and but one desire, with the feeling of admiration of our glorious republic, the desire of becoming the President of the same. Not contented with the *leavings* which Providence bestowed upon him from the table of poor old Taylor, he is ambitious of a four year's banquet for himself, and emerges once more from the shades of retirement to mingle in the strife of the political arena. Alas! poor Millard, it is a narrow path that leads to the goal to which you would aspire—the deserted fields of Conservatism on the one hand, and the slough of Free Soilism on the other. In all sincerity we commend your efforts, but we can say little of your success—for of a truth, your political career is a sandwich wherein you desire to be sound and constitutional is strongly affected by your Abolition proclivities. You come home congratulating your fellow-citizens on the peace which pervaded the political atmosphere of the country; and scarcely were you landed on your native shores, when Kansas and Nebraska were rung in your ears so vehemently as almost to affect your brain.

The great issue in the present canvass is the Kansas-Nebraska bill of the last Congress. In its favor are enlisted the whole Southern portion of the confederacy, and those sterling and patriotic Democrats of the North, who forget self in their pursuit of justice, and sink section in their devotion to the Constitution. Against it are arrayed the immense Free Soil and Abolition party of the North, led on by the hardy pioneer of the Rocky Mountains, and numbering in its ranks as various species as the canine convention commemorated by Goldsmith—

"The mongrel, puppy, whelp, and hound,
And curs of low degree."

There are to be seen the form of the profane and impious Giddings, grown grey in fanaticism—there the burly figure of the factious Hale, and there the aching head of the literally crack-brained Sumner. All eyes are opened, and all ears were turned to see and hear what would be the course of the great champion of conservatism—Millard Fillmore.

Nor was he slow in the expression of his opinions. Conspicuous among the advocates of the bill was its distinguished author, who has, by his bold and fearless defence of the Constitution, rendered his name dear to every lover of the Union. And this man, Mr. Fillmore brands with the charge of having urged the passage of the Kansas bill for his own personal advancement. He stigmatizes the act itself, the repeal of the Missouri Compromise as a violation of good faith, and a wanton disturbance of the peace of the country—as a Pandora's box out of which have issued all the political evils that now afflict the country, scarcely leaving a hope behind. Now, we incline to think with all due respect to the traveller candidate, that the hope which is left, and which he scarce can see, is in his own eyes his own elevation to the Presidency. We say this in justice to Mr. Fillmore, for we cannot believe that his violent opposition to this bill is sincere, when we call to mind his

own antecedents, and his own views in relation to the sacred character of a compromise.

Mr. Fillmore himself stands intimately connected with another compromise of more recent date, and therefore one which should be considered not less sacred at the least, than the threadbare compromise of 1820. Yet, Mr. Fillmore, the session after the passage of the compromise measures, expressed his willingness to modify, and repeal them when time and experience should demonstrate the necessity for such a change. And, in this connection, it would be well to reflect for a moment on what changes or repeals can be made in these several measures which Mr. Fillmore endorsed, and is willing to uphold for the present. The admission of California is a fact, and her sovereignty complete, nor can Mr. Fillmore ever, with all his loose ideas of State Rights, and with all his former willingness to march a federal army upon Texas, lay the finger of his execution forever upon her. The bargain with Texas by which she sold her domain for federal money is also an established and unalterable fact. The territorial governments of Utah and New Mexico are settled; and thus the only two remaining measures relating to slavery in the District, and the rendition of fugitive slaves can be affected by the modification and repeal of the sagacious Mr. Fillmore speaks. But what modification would he propose to the law affecting the slave trade in the District of Columbia? Would he abolish the institution of slavery there entirely? It is true he showed a strong inclination to do so in 1836. But let him remember that he is fishing for Southern old line Whig votes. Would he renew the restriction to the slave trade there? He not only loses Northern votes thereby, but lays his profane hand upon the sacred character of a compromise, or how would he modify the fugitive slave law? Possibly by extending to the fugitive the right of trial by jury—the absence of which right in the original bill, painfully affected the conscience of the ex-President, and as we understand almost induced his veto of the bill. Consistent Mr. Fillmore! There is an old book which you know nothing Sanherdim commends to the careful perusal of all Americans in good standing, which warns us to cast the beam out of our own eye, and then we shall see clearly to cast the mote out of our brother's eye.

But when did Mr. Fillmore learn to weep over the destruction of the Missouri Compromise? If we are not misinformed, the first blow that it received was from his hand. The Territory of New Mexico to a large extent lay north of the line of 36° 30', and by the resolutions admitting Texas into the Union was subjected to the Missouri restriction. AND yet by the bill for organizing its territorial government, a provision similar in every respect (so far as slavery is concerned) to the Kansas bill was made in reference to New Mexico. Where then was Mr. Fillmore's objection to the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, where then was his respect for plighted faith, where then were his tears for the disregard of a "compromise of thirty years standing." We hate the sycophantic tears of the murderer who can weep at the grave of him whom he has slain. We have no respect for the consistency of the man who can thus affect a virtue and a position which he does not possess. Regard his course, and say whether he or the author of the Kansas bill is more amenable to the charge of seeking "personal advancement."

THE WASHINGTON SENTINEL.

"The masterly ability with which this sterling Democratic journal is conducted, challenges our warmest admiration. It wields a ponderous battle axe, every blow of which tells with overpowering force upon the odious factions and treacherous combinations opposed to the best interests of the nation. It is never governed by temporizing expediency, dishonest policy, or a timid, wavering vacillating course, leaving the public to doubt the sincerity of its professions of friendship to the cause it ostensibly advocates. On the contrary it always means what it says, and always says what it honestly believes, without fear or favor. We are inexpressibly gratified to hear of its rapidly increasing prosperity, of which we see unmistakable indications. The able and indefatigable editor need not be told that our warmest good wishes are enlisted in his behalf."

The above kind notice of the *Sentinel* appeared in the *Pennsylvanian* of the 7th.

It is a tribute to our efforts in behalf of the great cause in which we are earnestly engaged, which, if we do not deserve, as fully as the kindness of our contemporary has expressed it, is most grateful to us. We return our thanks for the flattering notice, and a full reciprocity of kind feelings, and best wishes for our friends of the *Pennsylvanian*, we beg leave to assure them that no pains shall be spared on our part to merit the good opinion they have expressed.

Frederick's Opinion of Hon. John C. Breckinridge.

"We ascribe nothing of correction or dishonor to Mr. Breckinridge himself. We believe him to be a conscientious and honorable as well as a most able man. We have been half afraid, during the canvass, to express fully our opinion of him, lest our Whig friends in his district and elsewhere might deem it untrue to us some months ago in relation to Mr. Breckinridge have been kept at the head of his newspaper organs throughout the conflict, and we can, and do emphatically re-assert every word of those paragraphs. Mr. Breckinridge is a pure and noble hearted man and a liberal minded politician, he has earned and won at home and at Washington as high a reputation for talents as belongs to any man of his age in the United States. We do not know of any gentleman we would rather see in Congress, and if he lived in a Locofoco district, for instance, Linn Boyd's, we should sincerely rejoice in his election."

"The Hon. John C. Breckinridge, in a letter to his constituents, declines a re-election to Congress. He will be much missed in that body. His great humanity, his perfect fairness, and his powerful talent made him one of the very foremost of its master spirits. He has a national reputation, and nobly has he won it."

The United States Ship-of-war Independence safe, and heard from.

The Pacific mail received in Washington this morning has set at rest all the rumors of the probable loss of this ship. The Navy Department have a letter, written on the United States sloop-of-war St. Mary's, at Panama, just as the mail for the United States was being closed, wherein it is announced that she has arrived at Valparaiso, on her return from her cruise to the guano islands discovered by Mr. Benson. The next arrival from that quarter will, we trust, bring important and interesting dispatches from her commander concerning the result of her cruise.—*Star*.

THE ADJOURNMENT.

Both Houses of Congress adjourned yesterday at 12 o'clock, m., the Black Republicans applauding the announcement by the Speaker that the session was at an end.

All the modes of delay under the rules were resorted to to prevent the prolongation of the session until 4 o'clock. No stone was left unturned by the Black Republicans to consummate the first step towards the dissolution of the Union, the beginning of the end—THE ARMY IS DISBANDED.

Congress has adjourned without providing for the support of the army.

Among the powers of Congress designated by the Constitution is the following:

"The Congress shall have power to raise and support armies, but no appropriation of money to that shall be for a longer term than two years."

The power to raise and support armies is exclusively in Congress, and Congress is prohibited from granting an appropriation to that use for a longer period than two years.

The evident intention of this clause was to make the support of the army dependent on the popular will.

A Congress is elected for two years only.

The President in our view is powerless in this matter. Congress alone has the constitutional power to support the army, and Congress has refused to do this.

The army is disbanded, and the Black Republicans have disbanded it.

We do not propose to-day to discuss the question of the power of the President to resist by any means, direct or indirect, the mandate of the Congress.

We express, however, the opinion that should he from any, the best of motives, attempt to support the army, he would be liable to impeachment.

We content ourselves at this time with saying that the Constitution confers, and very properly confers, upon Congress the power to take the sword from the Executive hand by refusing to support the army.

This power Congress has exercised. It has refused to support the army; and if the President should undertake to support one, he will assume a power not granted, but will strike withheld from the Executive, and will express at a fundamental principle of our form of government.

Congress is the check upon the use of the sword by the Executive. Congress has interposed and taken the sword from his hand. Of what more flagrant violation of the Constitution could he be guilty than to resume it?

We do not, however, as this time propose to pursue the constitutional question.

There is no evil, however, without its corresponding good.

The disbandment of the army may be useful in showing practically to Black Republicans and others the value of the Union.

The bill making appropriations for the support of the army which the Black Republican majority in the House of Representatives have defeated appropriated \$12,000,000.

Of this \$12,000,000 but a trifle was for the pay of officers and soldiers. The remainder was to buy clothing provisions and the means of transportation.

In what part of the country are clothes, (arms, munitions, coats, pants, shirts, socks, overcoats, shoes, boots, &c., &c., &c.) purchased?

In what part of the country are these ten millions of dollars worth of manufactured articles purchased?

We propose to discuss on another occasion the unconstitutional proviso which the Black Republicans attempted to force upon the Senate and which they did force upon the House, and which unconstitutional proviso, caused the disbandment of the army.

There was no true patriotic heart that was not filled with indignation and disgust at the exhibition of joy by the Black Republicans at the defeat of the Army appropriation bill. A stranger, coming into the Halls and Lobbies of the two Houses of Congress, would have fancied the consummation of some great patriotic result for the country, could he have witnessed the jubilant greetings of this treasonably horde over their own infamous mischief. Nero fiddling when Rome was in flames, is the only parallel we can recall from the annals of history, for an atrocity so subversive of peace, order, honesty, and morality. While we write, we are unprovided of the course the President may feel it his duty to pursue, under the infliction of so diabolical a blow as the defeat of the army appropriation bill, by factitious and unprincipled traitors, compared with whom, Benedict Arnold is an angel of light! We, however, have never hesitated to express our opinions without reserve or fear, and we unhesitatingly say that we hope and trust he will not convene Congress, while it contains a set of such villainous conspirators as these degraded wretches have proved themselves to be. Indeed, we incline to the opinion that the highest patriotism might be subserved, and the best interests of the country consulted, by declining to recall men (mankind we crave your pardon) so utterly regardless of all law, civil and divine—who do their oaths as an empty toy, and who have no other objects or motives of legislation but their own plunder and robberies of the public treasure—again into the Legislative Halls!

If it is the will of Almighty God to allow them again to defile those halls dedicated, and hitherto devoted to the enactment of a honorable and just legislation, let them come accredited by their own traitorous constituencies, and by no act of the present Administration. Let, at least, the metropolis of our country be rid of their pestilential presence, and let them return to their genial climate where treason only can flourish, but where the tree of liberty would disdain to grow.

But to the noble men of the North and Northwest who have stood by the Constitution and the law be all honor and praise accorded! Gallantly have they done their duty, and generously will they be rewarded by their own consciences and law loving countrymen.

Not in a partisan spirit, but in the true and higher spirit of patriotism do we invoke all men of all parties to come to the rescue of their country, to gird up their loins, and buckle on their armor to prostrate this civil foe, more dangerous than a world in arms, and to the prosperity of our institutions. Is their

doubt in the mind of any reflecting man now, as to the wicked and nefarious purposes of this treacherous party? Let that doubt be dissipated by this overt act which has now been committed by a party who have presented you with leaders who are pledged to fill to the brim the cup of their country's dishonor and overthrow. Let us all lay it to heart, and draw, if possible, from the evil that is upon us, some corresponding good, if only be our firm and united resolves to resist at every hazard, and to the last extremity the farther encroachments of these revilers of the Constitution and merciless enemies of the Union.

From the Boston Courier, of Thursday.

Hon. Rufus Choate on the Presidential Question.

The Whigs of Maine held a grand mass meeting in the town of Waterville yesterday. Hon. Rufus Choate was invited to be present, but being unable to attend, he sent a letter, in which he defined his own position on the Presidential question, and avowed his intention to vote for Mr. Buchanan. We give it below:

Boston, Saturday, Aug. 9, 1856.

GENTLEMEN: Upon my return last evening, after a short absence from the city, I found your letter of the 30th ult., inviting me to take part in the proceedings of the Whigs of Maine, assembled in mass meeting.

I appreciate most highly the honor and kindness of this invitation, and should have had true pleasure in accepting it. The Whigs of Maine composed at all times so important a division of the great national party, which, under that wise and without official power, as a responsible administration or as an organized opinion, has done so much for our country—our whole country, and your responsibilities at this moment are so vast and peculiar, that I acknowledge an anxiety to see—wait to hear—with what noble bearing you meet the demands of the time. If the tried regions, to whom it is committed to guard the honor of the Union, falter now, who, anywhere, can be trusted?

My engagements, however, and the necessity or expediency of abstaining from all speech requiring much effort, will prevent my being with you. And yet, invited to share in your counsels, and grateful for such distinction, I cannot wholly decline my own opinions on one of the duties of the Whigs in what you well describe as the present crisis in the political affairs of the country. I cannot, therefore, need not, pause to elaborate or defend them. What I think, and what I have decided to do, permit me in the briefest and plainest expression to tell you.

The first duty, then, of Whigs, not merely as patriots and as citizens—loving, with a large and equal love our whole native land—but as Whigs, and because we are Whigs, is to unite with some organization of our countrymen, to defeat and dissolve the new geographical party, calling itself Republican. This is our first duty. It would more exactly express my opinion to say, that at this moment, it is our only duty. Certainly, at least, it comprehends or suspends all others; and in my judgment, the question for each and every one of us is, whether this candidate or that candidate would be our first choice; whether the one or some good talk in the worst platform, and some bad talk in the best platform; not whether this man's ambition, or that man's servility, or boldness, or fanaticism, or violence, is responsible for putting the wild waters in this uproar, but just this: by what vote can I do most to prevent the madness of the times from working its maddest—the very ecstasy of its madness—the permanent formation and the actual present triumph of a party which knows only half of America only to hate and dread it—

from fifteen unseparated and revolutionary banners whose stars are erased or have fallen—in whose national anthem the old and ended airs of the Eutaw Springs, and the King's Mountain, and Yorktown, and those later of New Orleans, and Buena Vista, and Chancellorsville, breathe no more. To this duty, to this question, all other seem to me to stand for the present postponed and secondary.

And why? Because, according to our creed, it is only the United America, which can peacefully, gradually, safely, improve, lift up and bless with all social and personal and civil blessings, and all the races and all the conditions, which compose our vast and various family, and in such an America, only, whose arm can guard our flag, envelope our resources, extend our trade; and fill the measure of our glory; and because, according to our convictions, the triumph of such a party puts that Union in danger. That is my reason. And for you, and for me, and for all of us, in whose regards the Union possesses such a value, and whose peace is so much menaced in such a danger, it is reason enough. Believing the noble ship of State to be within a half cable length of the lee shore of rock, in a gale of wind, our first business is to put her about, and crowd her off into the deep, open sea. That done, we can regulate the stowage of her lower tier of powder, and select her cruising ground, and bring her officers to court-martial at our pleasure.

If there are any in Maine—and among the Whigs of Maine I hope there is not one out of three—who find it in their hearts to pursue, vaulting ambition, jealousy of men or sections, unreasoning and impatient philanthropy, or whatever else have turned to hate or coldness the fraternal blood and quenched the spirit of national life at its source; with whom the Union of the States and Free States is not the actual Constitution, is not a curse, a hindrance, a reproach; with those of course, our view of our duty and the reason of it, are a stumbling block and foolishness. To such you can have nothing to say, and from such you can have nothing to hope. But if there are those again who love the Union as we love it, do prize it as we prize it; who regard it as we do, not merely as a vast instrumentality for the protection of our commerce and navigation, and for achieving power, eminence and name among the sovereigns of the earth—but as a means of improving the material lot, and elevating the moral and mental nature, and insuring the personal happiness of the millions of many distant generations; if there are those who think thus justly of it—and yet hug the fatal delusion that, because it is good, it is necessarily immortal; that it will thrive without care; that anything created by man's will is above or stronger than his will; that because the reason and virtues of courage and reason and virtue could build it, the passions and stimulations of a day of frenzy cannot pull it down; if such there are among you, to them address yourselves, with all the earnestness and all the closeness of men who feel that some greater interest is at stake, and some mightier cause is at hand, than ever yet tongue has pleaded or trumpet proclaimed. If such minds and hearts are reached, all is safe. But how specious and how manifold are the sophisms by which they are courted?

They hear and they read much ridicule of those who fear that a geographical party does endanger the Union. But can they forget that our greatest, wisest, and most hopeful statesmen have always felt, and have all, in one form or another, left on record their own fear of such a party? The judgments of Washington, Madison, Clay, Webster, on the dangers of the American Union, are they worth nothing to a conscientious love of it? What they drenched as a remote and improbable contingency—that against which they cautioned, which they thought distant generations—that which they were so happy as to die without seeing—was upon us. And yet some men would have us go on laughing and singing, like some traveler in the satire, with his pockets empty at a present peril, the mere apprehension of

which, as a distant and bare possibility, could sadden the heart of the Father of his Country, and fade the grave and grand warning of the Father of the Republic.

They hear many say that such a party ought not to endanger the Union; that, although it happened to be formed within one geographical section, and confined exclusively to it—although its end and aim is totally that section against the other on a question of morals, policy and feeling, on which the two differ eternally and unappeasably—although, from the nature of its origin and objects, no man in the section outside can possibly join it, or accept office under it without infamy at his home; although, therefore, it is a stupendous organization, practically to take power and honor, and a full share of the Government, from our whole family of States, and bestow them, substantially, all upon the antagonists family—although the doctrines of human rights, which it gathered out of the Declaration of Independence, that passionate and eloquent manifesto of a revolutionary war, and adopts as its fundamental ideas, announce to any Southern apprehension a crusade of Government against slavery, far without and beyond Kansas—although the spirit and tendency of its electioneering appeals, as a whole, in prose and verse, the leading articles of its papers, and the speeches of its orators, are to excite contempt and hate, or fear of our entire geographical section, and hate or dread or contempt is the natural impression it all leaves on the Northern mind and heart—yet, that nobody anywhere ought to be angry, or ought to be frightened; that the majority must govern, and that the North is a majority; that it is ten to one nothing will happen; that, if worst comes to worst, the South knows it is wholly to blame, and needs no assistance more than we do, and will be quick to assist.

But do they who hold this language forget that the question is not what ought to endanger the Union, but what will do it? Is it man as he ought to be, or man as he is, that we must live with or live alone? In appreciating the influences which may disturb a political system, and especially one like ours, do you not allow for passions, for pride, for infirmity, for the burning sense of an injury, for a wrong? Do you assume that we are or all masses of men in all sections, uniformly agree reason, and uniformly wisely see, and calmly seek their true interests? Where on earth is such a fool's Paradise as that to be found? Conceding to the people of the fifteen States the ordinary and average human nature, its good and its evil, its weakness and its strength, I for one do not say that the triumph of such a party ought not to be expected naturally and probably to disannul the States.

With my undoubting convictions, I know that it would be folly and immorality in men to wish it. Certainly there are in all sections and in all States those who love the Union, under the actual Constitution, as Washington

has Jay, Hamilton, and Madison did—such as the hereditary and the habitual sentiment of the general American heart. But he has read life and books to little purpose who has not learned that "bosom friendships" may be "to resentment source," and that no hatred is so keen, deep, and precious as that.

"And to be with one love
Will work like madness in the brain"

He has read the book of our history to still less purpose, who has not learned that the friendships of those States—statesmen, but rivals—sovereigns each, with a public life, and a body of interests, and sources of honor and shame of its own and within itself, distributed into two great opposing groups, are of all human ties most exposed to such rupture and such transformation.

I have not time in these hasty lines, for there is no need to speculate on the details of the mode in which the triumphs of this party would be its work of evil. Its more urgent to obtain the government, as that struggle is conducted, is mischievous to an extent incalculable. That thousands of the good men who have joined it deplore this is certain, but that does not mend the matter. I appeal to the conscience and honor of my country, that if it is the result of a great party, by every species of access to the popular mind, by eloquence, by argument, by taunt, by sarcasm, by recrimination, by appeals to pride, shame and natural right—to prepare the nation for a struggle with Spain or England, or Austria, it could not do its business more thoroughly. Many persons, many speakers—many, very many, set a higher and wiser example, but the work is done.

It accomplishes its object, and gives the Government to the North. I turn my eyes from the consequences. To the fifteen States of the South, that Government will appear an alien Government. It will appear worse. It will appear a hostile Government. It will represent to their eyes a vast region of States, organized upon anti-slavery, flushed by triumph, cheered onward by the voices of the pulpit, Tribune and press; its mission to inaugurate Freedom and peace; its mission to inaugurate Freedom and put down the oligarchy, the aristocracy of the glittering and sounding generalities of natural right which make up the Declaration of Independence. And then and thus is the beginning of the end.

If a necessity could be made out for such a party we might submit to it as to other unavoidable evils, and other certain danger. But to find it? Is it to keep slaves out of the Territories? There is not one but Kansas, in which slavery is possible. No man fears, no man hopes for slavery in Utah, New Mexico, Washington or Minnesota. A national party to give them to freedom is about as needful and about as feasible as a national party to keep them in slavery. And Kansas! Let that abhorred soil have calm within its borders; deliver it over to the nation, a law of peace and spontaneous immigration; off the ruffian hands; strike down the rifle and the bowie knife; guard its strenuous infancy and youth till it comes of age to choose for itself—and it will choose freedom for itself, and it will have forever what it chooses.

When this policy, so easy, simple and just, is abandoned, and it is time enough to resort to revolution, it is time enough to resort to protection to the local settler was not performed that the Democratic party has already by the action of the great representative convention resolved to put out of office its own administration. That lesson will not and must not be lost on anybody. The country demands that Congress, before it adjourns, give that lesson to the people. If it do, time will inevitably give it freedom.

I have hastily and imperfectly expressed my opinion through the satisfactory forms of a letter, as to the immediate duty of Whigs. We are to do what we can to defeat and disband this geographical party. But by what specification we can most effectually contribute to such a result is a question of more difficulty. It seems to me to be the duty of all those who vote for the nominees of the American or the Southern party of the Democratic Party. As between them, I shall not venture to counsel the Whigs of Maine, but I deem it due to frankness and honor to say, that while I entertain a high appreciation of the character and ability of Mr. Fillmore, I do not sympathize in any degree with the objects and creed of the particular party that nominated him, and do not approve of their organization and their tactics.

Practically, too, the contest, in my judgment, is between Mr. Buchanan and Col. Fremont. In those circumstances I vote for Mr. Buchanan. He has large experience in public affairs; his commanding capacity is universally acknowledged; his life is without a stain. I am constrained to add that he seems at this moment, by the concurrence of circumstances, and by the settlement of the party, to represent that sentiment of nationality, toleration, warm and comprehensive,—without which, without

which, as a distant and bare possibility, could sadden the heart of the Father of his Country, and fade the grave and grand warning of the Father of the Republic.

They hear many say that such a party ought not to endanger the Union; that, although it happened to be formed within one geographical section, and confined exclusively to it—although its end and aim is totally that section against the other on a question of morals, policy and feeling, on which the two differ eternally and unappeasably—although, from the nature of its origin and objects, no man in the section outside can possibly join it, or accept office under it without infamy at his home; although, therefore, it is a stupendous organization, practically to take power and honor, and a full share of the Government, from our whole family of States, and bestow them, substantially, all upon the antagonists family—although the doctrines of human rights, which it gathered out of the Declaration of Independence, that passionate and eloquent manifesto of a revolutionary war, and adopts as its fundamental ideas, announce to any Southern apprehension a crusade of Government against slavery, far without and beyond Kansas—although the spirit and tendency of its electioneering appeals, as a whole, in prose and verse, the leading articles of its papers, and the speeches of its orators, are to excite contempt and hate, or fear of our entire geographical section, and hate or dread or contempt is the natural impression it all leaves on the Northern mind and heart—yet, that nobody anywhere ought to be angry